Peace News

No. 1,097 July 5, 1957 4d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

"UNARMED"

What would happen if Britain gave up arms?

NEW REPORT OFFERS ANSWERS

By Brian Cummings

SIR ADRIAN BOULT, Ritchie Calder, Laurence Housman, Lord Boyd Orr, Sir Herbert Read and "Vicky" are among the list of distinguished people who recommend for serious attention a report on unilateral disarmament prepared for a joint committee of British pacifist organisations.

The report, "Unarmed," is published today by Peace News, price 1s. Prepared by leaders of the various British pacifist organisations, aided by sympathisers, it describes what might happen, and what should be done, if Britain decided to "go it alone," by disarming completely and without reference to other nations' foreign policies.

Defence is dealt with but briefly—the authors evidently believe that this ground has been well covered in the past—and the report concentrates on less obvious but more practical questions such as the economic, political, social and psychological aspects of disarmament. It concludes:

(1) The unilateral disarmament of Britain should be based on a clear-cut policy for the total abandonment of arms. Such a policy would have nothing to do with reductions of arms for reasons of economy or strategy.

(2) Britain should withdraw from all undertakings based on military assumptions with as much courtesy and consideration as possible.

(3) Britain should make evident her new attitude to other peoples of the world by giving practical help to those in need, and by speeding up and aiding the liberation of peoples under British control.

How is all this to be done?

In Britain

At home:

(a) The manufacture of atomic weapons would be stopped and the tests abandoned.

b) Military stocks would be run down and, where possible, the materials transferred to industrial uses.

(c) Conscription would be abandoned, with immediate release for all who wanted it.

(d) Recruitment would be stopped.

(e) The secret service would be disbanded.

(f) The Defence, War and Air Ministries and the Admiralty would be closed and replaced with new ministries dealing with economic adjustment, reabsorption of labour and international aid.

(g) The United Nations would be invited to appoint observers to check British disarmament on the spot.

(h) Volunteer corps of technicians, teachers, mechanics and labourers would be formed (partly from the services) and made available at home and abroad for helping areas damaged by natural catastrophe or in need of development.

For practical and psychological reasons, the report argues, the time factor would be important. Therefore, the whole act of disarmament should take place within the lifetime of a single Parliament. Measures for redeploying labour and resources should also be taken as quickly as possible, to mitigate human distress and dislocation.

"Unarmed" argues that the whole of this problem is no greater than that faced in 1945, when the country reconverted from war to peace production. Furthermore, industry itself—now more flexible—is in a state of change. Automation, for example, will probably bring about more changes in the next 10 years than the disarmament plan would require.

"Under-developed"

One of the new Ministries would arrange for the reconversion of the State arsenals. Private concerns would be advised and subsidised during the transition period. Some labour might be drawn off into those industries which are short of it at the present time, and there might be recruitment and training for a much-extended domestic housing programme. Domestic needs would not, however, jeopardise Britain's offer to give help abroad wherever it is most needed.

"Britain disarmed," says the report, "would be in a position to call together members of the sterling area, particularly the under-developed countries among them, and ask what they wanted from this country; whether they wanted capital or consumer goods and what they were prepared to offer in exchange.

"It might be that part of such assistance would have to be an outright gift. There would be no greater loss to Britain if we were to produce something useful and to give away to a needy world than to go on producing war-machines which make no return to anyone. . . .

"If this country disarmed it would increase its competitive power in the world-markets and so offset any adverse effects of the dislocation caused by the change-over in the economy." Our position in the sterling area would be strengthened by our greater production. . . .

The Commonwealth

In the Commonwealth, disarmament would mean that Britain had ceased to regard herself as a Great Power in the traditional sense. Problems would therefore arise in regard to the military evacuation of the colonies and occupied territories. These territories fall into two main categories: strong-points like Aden, Malta and Gibraltar; and the colonies proper, as the African territories.

In the case of the strong-points, disbandment of troops would form part of the plan outlined above. But local people whose employment depended on military installations would be given the same consideration and help as those in Britain. The future government and political affiliations of the territories would be decided by the inhabitants themselves.

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Progress report on Disarmament talks

By Dr. HOMER JACK

AT three twenty-five on almost any week day, five limousines of the diplomatic corps drive up to Lancaster House, just off Pall Mall and next to St. James' Palace in central London. Diplomats with small brief-cases hurry into this unpretentious, three-storey building decorated with the Union Jack and the United Nations flag.

Hardly any tourists are outside, certainly not the numbers gathering to watch the Commonwealth prime ministers enter Number 10 Downing Street or to watch the changing of the guard.

Yet the painful negotiations of five diplomats sitting for an hour or two an afternoon may determine more than anything else in our time the future of humanity. For this is the five-power subcommittee (Canada, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States) of the United Nations Disarmament Committee which has been meeting in London since March.

Russia and the USA

For the first time in more than a decade, it now appears that some first-step agreement on disarmament will be reached. There are several small signs of this earnestness.

For one thing, Russia is generally not using the current negotiations, inside or outside the meetings, for propaganda purposes.

Also Russia is not playing for time as she tended to do heretofore and is indeed urging a speed-up in the talks. The United States, on the other hand, is displaying a less rigid position.

Although there will be a first-step agreement, it will not be made as soon as—even a few weeks ago—had been expected. The United States is now taking its time and for several reasons. For one thing, Mr. Harold Stassen may have more freedom once the German elections are over in September and once the US Congress has adjourned. Also he is trying to obtain as large a first-step disarmament package as possible, partly perhaps to offset propaganda-wise the Russian proposal for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests. Thirdly, Mr. Stassen is in the impossible position of having too many bosses at home (the President ultimately, but also the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the State Department) and abroad (the NATO council).

Britain and France

The role of Britain and France in these negotiations is somewhat ambiguous. In some ways it often appears that the US and the USSR are closer to each other than the US to Britain or France in these negotiations.

Britain especially is suspicious of a deal between America and Russia over her head. Also Britain is delaying, as long as she can, to admit publicly or privately, that she is no longer in the power class of America or Russia.

France is afraid of a cessation of nuclear tests—which would prevent her from becoming the fourth power to possess nuclear

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Two MPs were in working party

"UNARMED" is published for the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee which includes representatives of the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, and the Peace Pledge Union.

The working party that prepared the report consisted of Christopher Farley, Ernest Fernyhough, MP, C. Leslie Hale, MP, Wallace Hancock, Alan Litherland, Rev. Clifford Macquire, Stuart Morris, J. Allen Skinner, Arlo Tatum, Bernard Withers and two corresponding members, Dr. E. L. Allen and Rev. Hampden Horne.

"Special acknowledgement," the Committee state, "is due to Mr. Ian Mikardo, MP, who readily responded to a request for a memorandum on some of the economic consequences of total disarmament.

"The substance of his contribution is embodied in this report although, of course, he himself is not committed to the conclusion to which the working party have come."

"Day of freedom" in S. Africa

IN South Africa, where Africans have organised an economic boycott of firms supporting the Nationalist government, thousands of Africans in Johannesburg last week observed a "day of freedom" in protest against race segregation laws and to support the demand for a minimum wage of £1 a day.

The South Africa Chamber of Industries estimated that 80 per cent. of the Africans stayed away from work in Johannesburg, where trains and buses ran empty and work stopped.

The market was described as "dead" and at the treason trial, the 156 accused of all races stood silently with bowed heads to express support of the demonstration.

It was called by the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

REGINALD REYNOLDS, LOOKING AT THE UN REPORT ON HUNGARY, ASKS

Why not an international commission on Cyprus, too?

ON June 21, Peace News stated in general terms the objections to the White Paper on alleged atrocities by those responsible for "security in Cyprus."

Since then the publication of an impartial report on Hungary has aroused widespread indignation. In the West this indignation is directed against Russia: but in Russia it is the indignation of injured innocence, comparable in every respect to that of Sir John Harding and the Government which employs him.

There is no need to push the comparison beyond that point. The magnitude of the crimes alleged or committed is irrelevant. The law against murder, in Britain, is not considered to be inoperative in the case of those who murder only one person.

Nor would it be considered a sound proposition that only *mass* murder cases should go to the Assizes, whilst smaller cases should be investigated *in camera* by nominees or employers of those who are accused.

Whatever the Russians may say now, they know that the damaging character of the case presented does not consist in the mere number of outrages, but in the fact that those who have investigated them are above suspicion of bias.

The only defence of Russia today lies in "tu quoque"—the argument that Britain and France are also under heavy accusations which the United Nations have not investigated.

Russians will find it hard to impugn the character and motives of those who have exposed their actions in Hungary. But they can and will, whilst denying the charges against them, insist that there is bias in the selection of Hungary alone as the object of such enquiries.

They will reject with scorn, and not without reason, the pious horror of the Western Governments, and especially those of Britain and France.

FALSE REPORT ?

Since the publication of the White Paper, Fenner Brockway and Jennie Lee, after questioning and examining eight Cypriots serving sentences at Wormwood Scrubs, have found further evidence which, as Fenner Brockway wrote in his article last week, establishes a case for investigation.

The Times of Cyprus, a "respectable" right-wing journal, has pointed out discrepancies in the White Paper, such as the dismissal as a false report of one particular charge made by Archbishop Makarios.

If, said the editor of the Times of Cyprus, this report was false, why were the two officers in question court-martialled and dismissed from the Army?

As already pointed out, we must not expect to find more than a very small percentage of such cases coming before the courts at all: nor can we rely on British courts (any more than those of France or Russia) acting impartially in such circumstances.

The White Paper justified the concealment of names and details for its "evidence" by speaking of danger to the lives of its alleged witnesses.

If the charges against the administration are true, the same conditions must apply to witnesses against the Government, and they will hesitate to come forward. We have not, surely, forgotten the curious coincidence by which so many Africans were arrested, a few years ago, after submitting statements to Fenner Brockway in Kenya, and even stranger things which happened to certain Africans who were prominent in their opposition to the Government.

Many of those doing "security" work in Cyprus served a grim apprenticeship in Kenya.

THREAT TO RESIGN

Michael Foot, writing in The Daily Herald, has pointed out that the "Human Rights Committee" of the Cyprus Bar Association (dismissed with contempt in the White Paper) is a highly responsible body of lawyers under the Chairmanship of a former member of the Executive Council.

It is this body which, having been responsible for many of the charges, has now replied to Harding's White Paper. The White Paper was given much publicity: but where has any space been given to the reply? Sir John merely blusters and has threatened to resign if an independent enquiry is ordered. This is quite reasonable.

It is better to resign now, voluntarily, than to be forced into resignation by the findings of an impartial commission. His resignation should be gladly accepted.

The cumulative evidence of years shows what a really impartial commission is likely to discover. Even the papers which most loudly support Harding have themselves given away too much. Back in 1955 the Special Correspondent of the Daily Express (December 12) said of one captured "terrorist":

"He got special attention. And he decided to talk."

Can this have more than one meaning?

Yet it was casually mentioned, as an everyday occurrence. Even before the notorious law was promulgated, prohibiting legal action for ill-treatment by Security Forces without Government permission, enquiries were in fact sometimes refused.

BRITAIN'S NAME

Peter Benenson, of the Labour League of Lawyers, mentioned one such notorious case in the Manchester Guardian (February 19) of a woman who was said to have had a miscarriage in a prison cell as a result of brutal treatment—the sort of charge which could hardly be fabricated. In another case, mentioned by Benenson, X-ray evidence showed rib fractures and haemorrhage: this case was dismissed by a Special Court (without jury) the injuries being no doubt self-inflicted in a prison cell!

If, in fact, Britain can really clear her name in spite of the mass of evidence so lightly disregarded by Harding, then surely the Government has everything to gain by asking for an international commission similar to that which has condemned Russia.

Why are they afraid? Why don't they welcome the suggestion?

Instead they have shown themselves anxious to conceal information even from the British Press: and only recently the correspondent of The Manchester Guardian (May 23) blamed the "persistent refusal to allow reputable journalists to see conditions for themselves" for "irresponsible reports" and "allegations which are harming Britain's reputation abroad".

Can it be that certain people know very well that the findings of an impartial international commission would not stop these rumours but establish them as true, exposing us to a share of the universal condemnation now heaped on Russia?

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THE MAN I SENT TO JAIL

By Dr. Clyde Miller

Reginald Reynolds who wrote the introduction to the "Man I Sent To Jail", in Peace News last week said of Eugene Debs, "he was the best loved of all American Socialist leaders." The author, Dr. Clyde Miller, a newspaper reporter, told how, certain that America should enter World War 1 he was shocked to find that Debs was against the idea. The war, said Debs was a "contest for empire." Dr. Miller told how he had wired the report of a speech made by Debs, in which he denounced the war, to his newspaper, "The Plain Dealer," and then set out on the return journey to Cleveland.

SUDDENLY, while waiting for my train, the thought came: Debs has violated the Espionage Act; he should be in jail. Immediately I went to a phone and got the district attorney on long distance. I told him what Debs had said and asked him if he would indict him. He certainly would. I phoned in that additional bit of information for a box on page one.

Well, Debs was indicted, and I had to be the chief witness at the trial. My testimony was simple. I told of the conversation with Debs in the hotel and what he said in his public address. Federal Judge Westenhever gave him two ten year sentences in Atlanta after the jury had brought in its verdict of guilty.

Deal

I had resigned from the Plain Dealer and had arranged to leave, as soon as the trial was over, for work in the Army Educational Corps. It didn't demand good vision. At the courtroom door when court was adjourned I met Debs and the sheriff.

"Mr. Debs," I said, "I think you got exactly the sentence you deserved, but I'm sorry it's you because you're such a decent guy." He put his arm on my shoulder and said, "Look, I'd like to say something to you. I want to thank you for your testimony. What you told the jury was accurate and clear. Second, I want you to know that I admire you for your sincerity. I would only add this:

"You look upon the world and see certain things that you regard as facts and you have come to definite conclusions about them. You are willing to go to France and risk your life. Well, I look upon the same world and see things that I regard as facts, and I have come to conclusions diametrically opposed to yours. You are going to France and may never come back. I'm going to Atlanta and I don't know whether I'll ever live out my sentence.

"But what do you say we make a deal? If you get back from France and I get out of jail and we ever meet, what do you say we get together and tell each other who's more nearly right or wrong about this war?"

"Fair enough," I said, and we shook hands on it.

In six months in France I learned more about how wars are made than in all my six years in college. I learned how propaganda worked. I knew Debs was right and I was wrong.

I came back to America feeling I had done Debs a great injustice and should try to get him out of prison. One could not get to Woodrow Wilson. He was ill. I did see Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, when he was in Cleveland on a visit.

Debs was right

We sat in his law office. I sat at one end of a long table and he at the other. The physical distance was great; the psychological distance was greater. He just sat there as cold as stone. Would he ask President Wilson to pardon Debs? He would not. "You have done your duty," he said, "do not undo it."

So I rose and left the room. There was no hope in Newton Baker.

I had seen another man. His name was Warren G. Harding, Senator from Ohio. We sat in a hotel room. I told him how I felt. He said, "Debs was right about that war, you know. We should not have been in it."

"You didn't vote that way, Senator."

"Hell, no! Of course not. I couldn't have voted against the war and still been re-elected Senator. But we're just a couple of guys in a hotel room. Why should we kid each other? Debs was right. We shouldn't have been in that war. And I'll tell you this: If I get to be President I would let him out of jail. Of course, I wouldn't do it right after my inauguration. That wouldn't be politic.

But I would do it by the Fourth of July."

After Harding became President he did plan to free Debs by the Fourth. But the American Legion, it seems, heard what he was up to and Harding, wanting to avoid controversy, had to defer the pardon to Christmas when, apparently the Legion was not on guard.

Self-righteous

Many years later, in the early thirties, I was a guest at dinner in Buffalo. Seated next to me was Clarence Darrow. We talked about Debs. I told him what I have written here.

"Why is it," I asked him, "that Warren Harding, who most people think was a low character, would pardon Debs, while a righteous man like Woodrow Wilson or Newton Baker could be just as cold and as hard as stone?"

"Look," he said. "If I were in trouble I wouldn't go to a righteous man for help. Such a man is too likely to be self-righteous. I would go to someone who could understand how it might feel to be in jail, and who could imagine how good it would be to get out."

Did I meet Debs later? Yes, soon after his release from prison he came to Cleveland to address the City Club. We met after his talk and I was able to tell him what I knew and know now.

"Mr. Debs, you were right and I was wrong."

Concluded

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Christianity's 'new' rivals

A MISSIONARY from Ceylon said at the annual meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society that Buddhism had become a rival of the Christian Church for the allegiance of the world, and that was new. He added that Asia had no desire to accept the culture or religion of the West which had lost the prestige which it once had.

A leading article in the Church of England Newspaper on "Christian and Muslim" provides an interesting addendum when recalling that Islam, the only world religion which is post-Christian, is very much in the ascendant and gaining converts even from the Christian Church.

"The record of Christian-Muslim relationships is not creditable to Christendom. In the Crusades, the Church denied her own basic principles and attempted to destroy Islam with the weapons of war. But even such methods were perhaps preferable to the unfair propaganda and the condescending attitude that have often been adopted in more recent years."

The article concludes

"It cannot be too often stressed that Christianity is on trial before the other world religions who are not in the least impressed by the claims we make for our religion. They judge it by what they see us do. It would be no exaggeration to say that religious leaders in Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist countries are profoundly disturbed that Christianity seems unable to restrain the Western nations from the misuse of the enormous power which science has put into their hands."

Huddleston for S. Africa

Naught for Your Comfort, by Father Trevor Huddleston, which has been a best seller in the original cloth-bound edition, is to appear in July as a paperback pocket book at 2s 6d in the Fontana series.

It is reported that Father Huddleston, who is now in charge of novices of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, in Yorkshire, hopes to go back to South Africa to appear at the treason trials. His order is allowing him to go as a matter of conscience.

WHAT DO 2 & 2 MAKE?

AN article appeared in a recent American religious magazine on the value of what it called "Bulletin Boards" and we should call "Wayside Pulpits." It suggested that Bulletin Boards could be the cheapest and most effective advertising a church could get because they preached Christian truth to all passers-by.

A similar comment can be made about posters, and no one should minimise the value of posters whether carried in procession or publicly displayed on some suitable site, such as a garage wall, or a garden gate.

The Peace Pledge Union will gladly supply posters to any member who can use them in that way, and to groups for poster parades, and also stickers for motorists.

The article to which I refer carried an illustration of a Bulletin Board which announced: "Much Vain Prayer Consists Of: Please Lord, Fix It Up So That 2 and 2 Won't Make 4." And I might add present international policies make the same request.

But as in those cases so with the Peace Pledge Union's HQ Fund 2 and 2 continue to make no more than 4. HQ Fund is expected to raise £1,150 by the end of the year, and here we are with Midsummer Day behind us and only £315 in the Fund. May I, therefore, make a special appeal to all who have not yet sent a contribution to Headquarters Fund to do so this week and help to show that £315 and £260 make half of £1,150.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1957: £1,150
Amount received to date: £315

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

VIGIL OF CHRISTIAN MINISTERS FOR PERSECUTED COMMUNITY

By Richard Baker

A CONTINUOUS vigil and visitation of Christian ministers and laymen is being organised with the hope of being effective toward stopping the persecution of Koinonia Farm, inter-racial Christian pacifist community in the deep South of the United States.

The Community, which farms near Americus, Georgia, has been the victim of at least 18 crimes, including attempted murder, bombings, shootings and arson.

The terrorism, perpetrated by pro-segregationists, has also been committed against friends and neighbours of Koinonia. The hand of a night watchman at the Community was once numbed, but not badly hurt, when a flashlight was shot out of his hand. Otherwise, no one has been hit or injured.

A branch shop of the Birdsey Feed Store, in Americus, recently bombed for dealing with Koinonia, is reported to have been closed. Windows were said to have been broken in other stores, a bank, and the court house during the bombing.

A delegation of prominent citizens of Americus appealed to Koinonia Community to leave Americus, saying that they felt "that Koinonia had created . . . discord, strife and bitterness."

"We pointed out that our leaving would be an admission to . . . the world that Sumter County (where Koinonia is located) could not, or would not, preserve law and order . . . and that her people were not free to worship God as they saw fit," says a statement by the Community.

Delegation's admissions

The Americus dignitaries in the delegation stated they were not able to cope with the terrorism. Asked if they thought the state would help them preserve order, they replied:

"We do not. An attempt has been made to get qualified help, but it can't be found."

The people of Koinonia, attempting to live in the belief of the early Christians that Christianity requires equality of all people regardless of race, feel that to leave Georgia would be against their religious convictions.

"Some of us have visited the Community and experienced the joy and love which abides with them," Lawrence Scott, Quaker and former Baptist minister said after a recent visit there.

A Friends of Koinonia Association in Chicago is trying to organise a continuous visitation in twos and threes of ministers and laymen to the community. One couple or group would arrive as the previous one left. The plan, to be co-ordinated by the association in Chicago may be already in operation as this is written.

Moral dilemma

"This would help express the fellowship which many of us feel; it would give first-hand experience of the plight of Koinonia; and the fellowship with ministers and other Christians in nearby towns might encourage open consideration of the real moral dilemma neighbouring Christians . . . must face . . .," Lawrence Scott, of Friends of Koinonia in Chicago, says. "I met with courtesy and genuine friendliness," he adds "from business clerks, waitresses, filling station operators and others. An Americus minister . . . impressed me with his devotion to the cause of Christ and his concern for both Koinonia and those persecuting Koinonia."

Koinonia has been boycotted to the point of near economic strangulation, in addition to being subjected to violence.

Persons who can and wish to participate in the visitation programme or know of people who can, should write to Jack Ross, Secretary, Friends of Koinonia, 3524 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago 24, Illinois, for further information.

THE CENTRAL BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS REPORTS ON

The CO and the ending of conscription

THE fulfilment of the Government's revised conscription plan, by which National Service ends in 1960, will depend upon its ability to attract sufficient regular recruits to replace National Servicemen in the Forces and also upon international conditions, say the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

The last of the remaining 320,000 likely to be called up under the National Service Act, 1948, will have been enlisted by the end of 1960. The Government hopes that it may prove possible to announce a final date for the end of conscription before then.

The procedure for those who register as conscientious objectors has not been altered, though they will, of course, be subject to the same delay in registration and benefit from the general exemptions and extended provisions for deferment. As there has been no alteration in the period of service, those conscientious objectors who obtain a conditional registration will still be liable for the full term of two years and sixty days in alternative civil work. This means that some COs can expect to be directly involved in National Service obligations until 1962.

In addition to those registering during the next two or three years, those who are already registered and whose deferment expires whilst conscription is in force can expect to be called upon for National Service. It is not possible to tell at present whether all those coming off deferment during 1960 will be required.

Arrangements for deferment have been widened considerably. In particular, those born in 1939 who secure places at a university or a similar educational institution commencing in 1957, 1958 or 1959 will be granted deferment notwithstanding their having to take up temporary employment meanwhile. No conscientious objector is called before a tribunal until his deferment has expired or been withdrawn. If his deferment continues beyond 1960 he can expect not to be called at all.

Further details can be obtained from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. The Board state they will endeavour to continue their work of giving help and advice so long as these are needed, and is anxious that the remaining conscientious objectors shall have the same assistance as their predecessors have had over the past 18 years.

The following table shows the expected liability under the new arrangements of young men born before 1940. Those born in 1940, though legally liable, will not be called upon.

Date of birth	*Liability to be called upon for National Service (subject to deferment arrangements)	Likely date of registration
Before 1939	Now being called upon.	*Already registered.*
Jan.-March, 1939	Certainly will be required.	*Early 1958.*
April-June, 1939	Very likely to be required.	*Not before 1959.*
July-Sept., 1939	Position as yet uncertain.	*At earliest late 1959, if at all.*
Oct.-Dec., 1939	Unlikely to be called, but possibility not ruled out.	——

*i.e., for those registered on the Provisional Register of Conscientious Objectors: initially, to be called before a Local Tribunal.

Bombshell speech rouses settlers

From BASIL DELAINE

Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

THE whole thing amounted to a dig in the ribs, a slap at the conscience, of the white settler with the one-track mind.

I refer to Prime Minister Garfield Todd's bombshell speech in Salisbury on June 15, when he threatened to resign the leadership of the United Party unless, in July, Parliament gave the vote to Africans in the colony possessing certain educational and professional qualifications.

And now, more than a week after that speech, the die-hard settler is still squealing like a wounded puppy dog.

Mr. Todd, a former missionary with the zeal and courage of an inspired liberal, is, as the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the white hope of thousands of educated and semi-educated black men throughout the country.

Last Saturday, for the benefit of the legislators and the white communities in general, he said:

"Southern Rhodesia finds itself the custodian of Rhodes' liberal dictum of equal rights for civilised men regardless of colour.

"If legislation further to implement that policy, when introduced in our House in July, were so changed as to continue to keep off the rolls our 6,000 Africans who have had ten years' education and who work as teachers, agricultural demonstrators, medical orderlies and so on, we would be so betraying the spirit of Rhodes that I would not continue to lead my party."

The Prime Minister, whose liberal sentiments can surely never again be questioned, then threw in this pertinent comment for good measure:

"We are in danger of becoming a race of fear-ridden neurotics—we who live in the finest country on earth."

CHALLENGING YOUTH

NOT many individuals, and certainly not many organisations publicly hold the mirror to themselves.

That is why it is refreshing when a small, duplicated journal has the courage to do so, and stimulating to find that the journal is run by youngsters, of whom it is often said that they have too much conceit and egotism.

This particular band of youths is the Pacifist Youth Action Group, and its journal, PYAG Magazine, can be obtained by non-members at 8d post paid, from PYAG, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

The May issue has contributors who are facing facts, not wishful thinking, and one of these facts is that there is frequently as much apathy inside the pacifist movement as there is outside of it.

Recently, this magazine's Editorial roused some controversy. This showed that some people were alive to the issues involved, thought Terence Chivers. He says in his article, "A Danger to Youth," that he wished the Editorial had upset a few more people.

Christopher Farley, with stinging honesty, writes, "If we pacifists want to get places other than the 'Scrubs,' it might do us good to stop telling the world that it's mad and wicked, and . . . consider ourselves."

M. J.

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1936 Nos. 4-6. *1937* No. 63.
1949 Nos. 679, 688. *1951* Nos. 761, 778.
1952 No. 819. *1953* Nos. 879, 889.

Publishing Dept., Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4.

IN PERSPECTIVE

Freedom denied

A CONFERENCE of vital importance for the future of Nigeria has just ended in London. Contrary to the almost universal expectation in Nigeria (writes John Ferguson of University of Ibadan), the request for self-government in 1959 has been refused, and no definite date has been named, though there is the promise that a date will be named in 1960.

This procrastination has been unanimously condemned by the Nigerian leaders, and it certainly seems that the British Government in weighing other factors has underestimated the strength of the desire to follow Ghana swiftly into independence. Nigerians feel that their country is larger, and more populous than Ghana, and can offer leadership of equal ability.

One effect of the conference may be to draw the much-divided political leaders close together in opposition to Britain.

None the less, substantial concessions have been made. The Western and Eastern Regions are, as promised, to attain regional self-government forthwith, subject to the preservation of federal rights.

The North will follow them in 1959. The Southern Cameroons, formerly a trusteeship territory, virtually become a new region.

There is to be a federal Prime Minister, and unless the Southern politicians can make substantial inroads upon the massed population of the North, it is likely that he will be a Northerner.

As prophesied, questions of minorities, new States and financial details are referred to special commissions.

When the curate breakfasted with the Bishop, the Bishop remarked: "I'm afraid you have a bad egg, Mr. Smith." "Oh, my lord, I assure you," he replied, eager to please, "parts of it are excellent." Parts of this settlement are undoubtedly excellent, but it is to be feared that the main impact on Nigeria will be the bad smell of self-government deferred.

Commonwealth Conference

THE Commonwealth Conference, which began on June 26 to the accompaniment of a display in Downing Street of nine Commonwealth countries' flags in addition to the Union Jack, is a particularly important one not only on account of the complicated problems of the present moment.

Equally important, and in the long run perhaps even more so, is the fact that this year's meeting plainly foreshadows the not very distant day when the white dominions will no longer be in a majority round the conference table.

It is known that common defence, international affairs and economic questions are on the agenda, and it is clear that any one of these, in present conditions, presents enormous difficulties.

Defence, apart from the need of adjustment to the approaching independence of Malaya, the withdrawal from Ceylon as a base and the much altered situation in the Middle East, raises the question of atomic and nuclear warfare with regard to which opinions are in certain cases so widely divided as to be in flat contradiction; international affairs raise the spectre of fundamentally different attitudes to the Soviet Union; and the question of economics brings the twofold complication of the Commonwealth's under-developed countries' need of financial aid on a scale which the United Kingdom is in a doubtful position to be able to afford, and that of the problem of integrating United Kingdom participation in a European free trade area with complete loyalty to Commonwealth economic interests as understood on a narrow basis.

Australia and New Zealand in particular are the two dominions most worried in this last respect. Politically, they want Britain's close association with the European continent, but economically they are afraid of it.

It is to be hoped that the difficulties will really be tackled. To avoid them and to cover up the failure of finding a solution for them, would be a profound mistake, resulting only in a further weakening of the very slender ties still existing.

Meanwhile, one's sense of humour is tickled by the knowledge that Mr. Louw of South Africa and Sir Roy Welensky of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland shared the Queen's hospitality at the Windsor dinner with Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana, and that Mr. Suhrawardy of Pakistan and Mr. Nehru of India did likewise, presumably without quarrelling about Kashmir.

Algerian policy

AS the United States struggles, painfully and with difficulty it is true, but with admirable steadfastness, towards an equality of rights as between man and man, France—the great enunciator of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity—takes a further ominous step towards suppression of human rights and liberties.

Under the compulsion of its hopeless Algerian policy the French Government has in recent years made serious inroads into liberty by publication, particularly while under the "socialist" direction of M. Mollet. It has now made an even more serious attack on human rights and liberties.

Last year a new law empowered the authorities to set aside the ordinary processes of law where Algerians were concerned so that Algerian citizens could be confined to their homes or exiled from them, be interned without trial, and sent to forced labour. That there was also suppression of the right of public meeting goes without saying.

Towards Fascism

IT is now proposed that this law shall be extended to Algerian-born people resident in France. The whole case maintained by the French for the suppression by war of the Algerian movement for independence, in contrast with the concession of independence to Morocco and Tunisia, rests on the fiction that Algeria is a part of metropolitan France, and accordingly Algerians living in France have been held to be French citizens. A law of 1947 declares them to be equal before the law with all other Frenchmen.

This claim has always included a considerable element of hypocrisy. Now the pretence is to be abandoned. Algerian-born people living in France may now be treated in the same way as Algerians living in Algeria. There will thus now be two types of citizens in France: those under the protection of the ordinary processes of law and those who are not. As the differentiation depends, not upon race, but upon the place of birth there will be cases where a single family can embrace these two types of citizens, e.g., a father, born in Algeria, and thus unable to seek the protection of French law, and his son, born in France, who will have the rights denied to his father.

French jurists are naturally greatly concerned about this development, which it is pointed out is contrary to the declaration of the Rights of Man and also to the preamble of the French Constitution. It is very susceptible to extension on political lines by a Fascist-minded Government, the emergence of which there is all too much reason to fear in France.

The clean bomb

IT is now almost possible, we are told, to manufacture "clean" H-bombs, and in a year or so with further research it will have become completely possible.

It will have become possible to kill all the people in Moscow, London or New York by blasting them to death or shrivelling them up by heat, while at the same time being able to safeguard their neighbours in other towns from damage by radio active fall-out.

As they have got so far in their examination of this possibility, helped by the bomb-tests, the US scientists concerned have expressed the view that it would be a "crime against humanity" if they were not to be permitted to continue with the tests now that the "clean" bomb is in sight.

It will be realised that the term "clean" is a relative one with a particular application. When a city has been given the clean bomb treatment some necessary ablutions will have to follow. There will be blood and bones and viscera and other muck that was formerly men, women and children to be cleared up; but we must not ask too much from scientists even when they are anxious not to be involved in a crime against humanity.

It may be hoped, however, that somebody will pass on the newly-found know-how to Russia. It will not be too good if, while the West, to quote President Eisenhower, can confine the effects of an attack to the targets that had to be hit—to targets, that is, like Moscow and Leningrad—the Russians have only the still-dirty "deterrent" with which to respond.

Editorial and Publishing office.
3 Blackstock Road,
London, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS
July 5, 1957

Distribution office for U.S.A.
130 Brattle St.,
Cambridge 38, Mass.

NO CHANGE IN CHINA

WHEN the Hungarian people rose last year it was evident, whatever Kadar and the Stalinists have said since, that they were not seeking a revival of the kind of regime they knew under Horthy or of any kind of copy of Western capitalism.

Had they been successful—had not the Kadar Government been imposed by Russian arms—we should have seen something new in Hungary, an endeavour to establish a regime of political freedom in which workers' councils in the towns and industries would have sought to bring some reality into the term "people's democracy."

There is today a keen and growing interest in what is happening in the Communist States—in Russia, in the Russian satellites and in China. People are watching what is happening in Russia, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany in a spirit of considerable expectation. That there will be fresh developments, good or bad, is taken for granted.

The thinking of the young students who have provided the dynamic in Hungary and Poland points to a "third way" conception, neither Communist nor capitalist, that would put human values above the power of the Party or the power of the purse. So did the thinking of the younger men, many of them dissident sons of Bolshevist officials, in the revolt at the Labour camp at Vorkuta a few years ago.

★ ★

IT is because of this growing expectation of something of promise from the Communist lands that the recent pronouncement of Mao Tse-tung has been read with such eagerness and hope.

Delivered on February 27 before a conference of the supreme State officials, and largely repeated a fortnight later before a conference of Party propagandists, it was only published in full three months later, in time for the annual meeting of the Chinese national legislative assembly last week.

The address, a guide to the Chinese Communists' second five-year plan, is held by some informed observers to be of more consequence than the speech (since dubiously disavowed) in which Khrushchov condemned Stalinism. We take leave to doubt this, however.

In Stalinism it is necessary to distinguish two aspects: the doctrine itself, which (with the doubtful exception of the US Communist Party) still dominates the thinking of the Communist Parties of the world, and the Stalin megalomania which gave it its special character from the 1930s onward.

★ ★

MAO's address is the pronouncement of the central figure of an autocracy in which he seeks to set forth principles of moderation in the exercise of dictatorship, repudiating by implication the aberrations of Stalinist megalomania.

The much-quoted "hundred flowers" that are to be permitted to blossom in the garden of ideas are primarily to be looked for in the arts and sciences, and the phrase is a repudiation of the egomania which sought to dictate how music should be composed, and to establish the theories of Lysenko by Government order.

There is to be tolerance also, within strict limits, for variety even in the field of politics; and Marxism itself is not to be immune from criticism. Words as well as acts, however, are to be judged as good only if they serve to unite the people and not to divide them; if they are favourable and not harmful to socialist construction, if they serve to consolidate the people's dictatorship and do not enfeeble democratic centralism; and if they help to reinforce the direction of affairs by the Communist Party.

As to whether these various requirements are fulfilled by those engaged in the cultivation of the hundred flowers, it is of course the Communist Party or those in position of control in that Party who will decide. What Mao has sought to do is to set out on the Yugoslav model a benevolent desire that the Chinese people may enjoy a degree of freedom on condition that they do not treat it as real freedom.

It may be that the changes that bring about a great transformation in the Communist world will come in China. Nothing of this kind however has been proclaimed by Mao Tse-tung.

The Editor's NOTEBOOK

Gandhian scholar dies

DR. BHARATAN KUMARAPPA, well-known Gandhian scholar and chief editor of the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, died in New Delhi on June 25 at the age of 63.

A close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, he was preparing sixty volumes of Gandhi's writings for publication by the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

He has written the foreword to "Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power," the book by Gene Sharp which is to be published by the Navajivan Press.

Dr. Kumarappa is the brother of J. C. Kumarappa, a contributor to Peace News and well known for his work with the All India Village Industries Association.

PARLIAMENT AND THE COLONIES

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman of the Movement For Colonial Freedom

THE importance of Commonwealth and Colonial affairs was dramatically shown by the events of one afternoon at the House of Commons last week. I will describe and comment upon what occurred.

It began with forty minutes' questioning of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd. This had special significance because the Government has been compelled to give an extra day to colonial questions and this was the first of the additional days. The Colonial Office will henceforth be under fire once a fortnight instead of once a month.

A great change has come over Parliament in relation to the colonies. Three years ago it used to be said that Members were indifferent. If the Colonial Secretary was asked thirty questions in a month it was thought he was worked hard. Now he has to answer at least two hundred questions.

Competition

The change reflects the heightened interest of the British public in colonial matters. There is a healthy competition between the Conservative and Labour Parties to win the adherence of colonial peoples. Both parties have special departments at their Head Offices dealing with the colonies, and Parliamentary groups which meet once a week to review developments. Both parties go out of their way to contact colonial residents in Britain, particularly students; it must be acknowledged that the Conservatives do this most thoroughly.

But the change in Parliament is probably due most to the activities of the Committees established in association with the Movement for Colonial Freedom, which now includes 115 MPs among its members. The Committees cover all colonial territories—South East Asia, East and Central Africa, the South African Protectorates, West Africa, the Caribbeans, the Mediterranean and Middle East—and associated organisations deal with economic aid for underdeveloped countries and with racial discrimination. The Committees are composed of representatives from the colonial territories and hardly a night passes without one or other of them meeting under an MP Chairman. From them flow at least half the questions which appear on the Order Paper of the House of Commons and, what is more important, much of the informed opinion which so many members now possess.

This particular Question period covered Malaya, Hong Kong, Cyprus, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Seychelles, Kenya, the Bahamas, Nigeria, Trinidad, British Guiana,

Dr. Azikiwe

Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Dominica and Gambia. Almost a complete tour of British colonial territories !

Ill-treatment

The Cyprus question concentrated on the ill-treatment of prisoners, and the exchanges occupy eight columns in the Official Report. Mr. Lennox Boyd can no longer think dispassionately about Cyprus.

He made the extraordinary statement that when fifteen Cypriot prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs gaol, London, were medically examined on arrival, no marks or bruises suggesting injury or ill-treatment were noticed.

I can only comment that Miss Jennie Lee, MP, and I saw nine men with obvious injuries including broken arms, scars and swellings, and some of these injuries, particularly cuts circling the wrists, could have occurred only from ill-treatment.

The exchanges within the House were the beginning of a series of Commonwealth and Colonial events. Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, was the guest of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association ; their offices in Westminster Hall were far too small to accommodate the MPs who wished to see and hear him. Simultaneously, Dr. Azikiwe, Prime Minister of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, was being entertained by Labour MPs in a room on the terrace and upstairs, in a committee room, the Colonial Group of the Labour Party was listening to the President of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress. These three events illustrated the major problems facing Asian and African countries.

Disappointing

The night before I had attended a joint meeting of West Africans and Caribbeans, who had discussed the economic problems of territories moving towards independence. An African had said that once a people had self-government they can solve their economic problems by themselves. I wish it were as simple as that ; but Pandit Nehru's talk to MPs showed it is not.

India has been independent for ten years, yet the immediate well-being of its people depends on capital investment from the richer countries. The Labour Party had a slogan "Fair shares for all in Britain". It must now become "Fair shares for all in the world".

Dr. Azikiwe met us just after the results of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference had been announced.

The refusal of the British Government to fix a target date for independence is bitterly disappointing, but I still believe that April 2, 1960, will become Independence Day for Nigeria. The demand is so strong in Nigeria that it cannot be denied—and I hope we may have a Labour Government in Britain by 1960.

I suspect that one of the reasons why Mr. Lennox Boyd refused a pledged date is the reaction which this would have had among the Europeans in Central Africa, who are insisting that they—and not the Africans in their territories—shall have independence by 1960. Whilst Pandit Nehru was discussing the problems *after* independence and Dr. Azikiwe, the problems *before* independence, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the leader of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, was warning us that if Britain handed over power to the European minority in Central Africa a grave racial conflict would be inevitable. African demands are reasonable. They ask for parity in representation between the races immediately, followed after five years by adult suffrage with a common roll. They are prepared to guarantee the Europeans minority rights, including a number of reserved seats in Parliament.

Central Africa will be the greatest test for a coming Labour Government. I am glad to say that the present mood of the leaders of the Party who are specially concerned with Colonial affairs promises that it will be equal to the task.

These are reflections on the events of one day in the House of Commons. The peoples of the Colonies do not allow us to forget them and a growing number of Members of Parliament are eager to learn from them and to act.

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Peace News Building Fund

OUR Twenty-first Birthday Number (June 7) reported the urgent need for new Peace News offices. Great new opportunities confront pacifism today, Peace News is tackling more and more work for peace ; fund-raising activities must be developed simultaneously.

● **WE MUST HAVE MORE WORKING SPACE !**

To date the Peace News Building Fund, launched above the signatures of Vera Brittain, Lady Clare Annesley, Sybil Morrison and Hugh Brock, has received £172 8s in donations. The target is £10,000. We are very grateful for the birthday gifts already received ; the Fund remains open and readers, groups and organisations are asked to take a full share in solving our pressing housing problem this year.

One reader sent £50—we need many large individual gifts ; another bequeathed a half-share in his house to Peace News—and £804 has since been received for our new premises; we know other readers have generously provided in their wills for gifts to Peace News.

A number of readers have collecting boxes. Would you, your family, your local organisation, peace group or Quaker meeting, set aside an extra 2s 6d each week for the PN Building Fund? Boxes are available on request.

Last year friends of the late Alexander Wilson launched a memorial fund, the proceeds to be devoted to an Alex Wilson Memorial Room in our new premises. A total of £127 2s was subscribed ; other friends of Alex Wilson are invited to support this tribute to a great worker for peace.

We would like to see other rooms in our new house commemorating the lives of other leading pacifists who have been associated with the paper. From the family of H. Runham Brown, founder of the War Resisters' International, and an early director of Peace News, we already have desks and other furniture for a **Runham Brown Room.** War resisters all over the world are invited to support this project.

Last autumn one London PPU group raised £50 for Peace News from a local Peace News Bazaar. Will you start now to plan a garden party, bazaar, concert or similar fund-raising effort.

● **THE BUILDING FUND APPEAL WILL NOT BE REPEATED REGULARLY IN THESE COLUMNS,** but we rely on readers' active help to resolve the very great accommodation difficulties under which we at present work. Fortnightly appeals to raise £3,500 to meet part of our 1957 publishing deficit on the paper will continue, and readers are asked to remember that the Building Fund target is separate from the subsidising of Peace News in order to keep the price at 4d.

● **IT'S NOT TOO LATE TO SEND YOUR TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY PRESENT.** It is the right time to plan your present and future efforts for the near-future expansion of Peace News.

Contributions and promises should be sent to the Treasurers, the PEACE NEWS BUILDING FUND, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, and made payable to Peace News Ltd.

TOTAL TO DATE

BUILDING FUND APPEAL	**£172**	**8s**	**0d**
Alex Wilson Commemoration Fund	**127**	**2s**	**0d**
Special Bequest	**804**	**0s**	**0d**
	£1,103	**10s**	**0d**

UNARMED DEFENCE :

Research assistant appointed

A FURTHER step in the movement for an inquiry into non-violent resistance as a possible alternative national defence policy was taken recently with the appointment of Gene Sharp as research assistant on the subject.

This was announced last week in the King-Hall News-Letter.

Mr. Sharp has been temporarily released from part of his duties as Assistant Editor of Peace News to undertake this research work on non-violent resistance.

He recently spent a month at the University of Oslo doing research and lecturing on non-violence under a programme financed by the Norwegian Scientific Research Council. His thesis "Non-violence : A Sociological Study" was completed at the Ohio State University where he received his Master of Arts in Sociology degree in 1951.

GERMAN TRANSLATION

His pamphlet "Which Way to Freedom ?" on the practical advantages of non-violent resistance to achieve and preserve national freedom has recently been published.

A German translation, by Hilda von Klenze, of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's original article calling for an enquiry into non-violent resistance as a national defence policy, "Reflections on Defence," has been distributed to 270 German newspapers and magazines by the German section of the War Resisters' International.

Copies of the English edition are still available from Peace News. See advertisement on page 8.

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Advertiser's announcement

NUCLEAR TESTS AND YOU

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests is an entirely non-Party organisation without any affiliations, seeking to give effective expression to the widespread determination that the Nuclear Arms race shall be halted. We oppose all testing of Nuclear Weapons by any country.

THE end of Britain's series of nuclear tests is not the end of our work.
It must be intensified.
Two nations had the so-called ultimate deterrent, the power to destroy civilisation.
Now there are three: soon there may be more.
Where will it end?
There are two possibilities only. A nuclear war or progressive disarmament.

IT MUST be disarmament. A world agreement that all nuclear tests shall stop, then an end of all nuclear weapons and a major reduction in all weapons. The people of the world want and need a *dis*armament race.
The lead can still come from Great Britain if we make our determination known to the Government.

- ***Write to your MP and the Prime Minister.***
- ***Organise groups to stimulate activity in your own area.***
- ***Support the work of the National Council by sending us the money we need to carry on. Seek financial help from others.***

To the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

I support your work for world-wide ending of nuclear weapon tests as a first step towards real disarmament.

I enclose £.....s.....d.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE ABOLITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS

New approach for campaign against nuclear tests

By MRS. SHEILA JONES

Secretary of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests.

THE ending of the present series of British tests means that the time has come for a new approach in the campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapon tests.

So far the National Council has directed its campaign against British tests in the hope that the Government could have been persuaded to postpone these and promote agreement for an ending of all tests. Although this country has missed a unique opportunity of taking the lead, it can justifiably be claimed that public opinion has been mobilised and that the Government is bound in future to pay attention to the warnings about the hazards of radioactive fall-out.

The campaign must now be directed towards the Disarmament Sub-Committee where proposals for the suspension of all nuclear tests are now being considered. It is most important that this chance to reach agreement on the ending of tests should not be lost by making it conditional upon other proposals. If agreement were reached on this one step a more favourable atmosphere for progressive disarmament would be created.

THE CLEAN BOMB

We must not allow ourselves to be diverted by red herrings about "clean" bombs. The claim that the development of such bombs is a humane step is to ignore the fact that they remain terrible weapons of destruction, which might indeed be more readily put to use in war than "dirty" bombs, or might be capable of easy conversion into such weapons.

The Council's aims now must be to keep public attention focussed on the disarmament talks, to impress Members of Parliament with the need to prevent Britain from dragging her feet in the negotiations, and to make contact with similar bodies to our own throughout the world so that an international campaign can be organised against the continuation of tests.

THE H-BOMB AND MY TOOTH

By Esme Wynne Tyson

THE Sunday Times doctor wrote in his column recently:

"We receive certain background radiation all our lives. On top of this we receive extra amounts when we have an X-ray, whether at the hospital or at a shoe-fitting . . . If the outfall of radio active substance from atom bomb explosions rises, the amount of background radiation will rise. If this happens we may each be in a position where the total radiation we have received in our lives is nearing the danger level. In that case, having even a few X-rays could be dangerous."

Doctor's evidence

About six months ago, before reading the above, I had a radiograph taken of a broken tooth. A week ago, after the Christmas Island and other bombs had been released, I was told by my dentist that another radiograph must be taken of the tooth to send to the authorities in order to get permission to use materials required for crowning it.

I replied that I did not intend to have any more radiographs taken for any purpose until the bomb tests were abolished, but was informed that, in this case, I should not be able to have the work done under the National Health Service, for which, as a self-employed person, I pay 7s. 2d. per week (which has often been more than I have earned!)

I then produced Dr. Schweitzer's and the Sunday Times doctor's evidence, and pointed out that, if this were so, the Government which is responsible for exposing us to danger by its tests, would be refusing the dental help for which we pay unless a now almost certain risk to health were taken.

This made nonsense of the term, National *Health* Service.

Genuine objection

The application from my dentist, accompanied by my objection, is now, I understand, being considered by the officials concerned. It will be interesting to note their reactions.

But obviously if this case were multiplied by hundreds, and better still, thousands, the problem posed would certainly wake the Government up to the fact that there is a widespread and genuine objection to their tests. And such objection should certainly not be limited to pacifists.

Presumably most sane people are unwilling to run the risk of leukæmia and other radiation hazards? But for the pacifist it would be one very practical and immediate form of non-violent resistance to preparation for war.

Turn the tables

A second suggestion is that the tables should be turned on the conscientious objection tribunals. Those who have so long and unimaginatively asked: "What would you do if a German (or Russian) attacked your wife or mother?" should now be confronted with the questions:—

"What are you doing to save your wife—mother—child from being attacked by leukæmia?"

and also:—

"If you consent to war, how do you propose to defend your mother—wife—child from the results of dropping the H-bombs we are so expensively making since, as Ian Mikardo put it, in this small country, 'We could drop an H-bomb only in the knowledge that within 24 hours we should cease to exist?' Is this not the most cowardly period in man's history? In the past, men at least sought to safeguard their women and children by keeping the war as far as possible from their home. Today, you, and other militarists, are upholding Governments and scientists in their frenzied endeavours to find ever more terrible means for the agonising maiming or extermination of the defenceless young and old. Can you square this with the Christian conscience? If you can, then, in the interests of humanity, you should be placed in safe custody. If you can't, then why are you not a conscientious objector to nuclear war and that means, to any physical warfare?"

Leaflets for tribunals

If there is no opportunity to pose these questions verbally perhaps some public-spirited pacifist printer will print them, and any others that may occur, on leaflets to be handed to the judges of the various tribunals.

The time has come when mothers, wives, children and the aged, so long used as goads by tribunal judges to induce young men to become homicides and so to perpetuate the system of war, most urgently need to be saved from being defended by our modern means of defence.

What are the tribunals and their masters doing about it?

CANCER RESEARCH

The World Health Organisation has been asked to undertake a cancer research programme. The increase in leukaemia is one of the reasons for the investigation.

THE H-BOMB CAMPAIGN

"Something every town and village should do . . ."

"What the people of Crawley have done in stimulating public opinion on this tremendous problem of conscience is something every town and village should also do. . . ."

THESE words from an Editorial in the Crawley (Sussex) Courier appear to have been taken to heart, for, from all over Britain have come reports of increasing activity on the question of H-bomb tests, accompanied by a veering of opinion in favour of the complete renunciation of nuclear weapons and demands that their manufacture should cease.

There is also an increasing readiness to listen to the case for Britain giving the world a lead by disarming.

The Bishop of Nagasaki

A meeting initiated by Quakers in Tunbridge Wells last week passed a resolution urging the Government "to give a moral lead to the world and to help dispel fear and mistrust by ceasing to manufacture and test H-bombs and all kindred nuclear weapons."

Some 200 people were present to hear their local vicar, the prospective Liberal and Labour candidate, the chairman of the local Conservative Association, Bishop Mann (whose period of service in Japan included mission work in Nagasaki) and two visiting speakers, Prof. Lionel Penrose, FRS, and Stuart Morris (General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union).

All the speakers emphasised the need to do more than register protests at the testing of nuclear weapons. Britain, they urged, should give a moral lead by ceasing to manufacture any nuclear weapons.

Mayor leads march

A procession last week, of Hackney people carrying an anti-nuclear weapon petition to Parliament was led as far as the Hackney boundary by the Mayor of Hackney, Councillor Cohen, reports Carlton Hardy.

At that point, the Deputy Mayor, Councillor "Dave" Simmons, took over and led the procession on to Parliament, stopping at St. Pancras Town Hall to receive the greetings of the Mayor of St. Pancras, Councillor T. J. Redman, and the Labour Councillors.

Councillor Redman handed over to Hackney's Deputy Mayor a petition against nuclear weapons which contained 7,000 signatures collected in St. Pancras.

The petitions were handed over at the House of Commons by a deputation which included the ministers of five Hackney churches to the two Hackney MPs, Mr. David Weitzman, QC, and Mr. Herbert Butler.

St. Pancras Labour Councillors had carried a majority vote in favour of a 40 minute adjournment from their monthly Business Meeting (at which they had reaffirmed their opposition to Civil Defence), so that the Mayor and Councillors could meet the Hackney deputation.

Home Office says "No"

Five hundred people at a meeting called by the Northfield (Birmingham) Council of Churches heard Mr. T. J. Pickvance, a Quaker, emphasise from the chair that the meeting was in no sense a political one, but to inform people of facts.

The East Anglian Federation of Women for Peace chartered a bus to come to London to join in the vigil of the women in black at the House of Commons last week. They brought messages of opposition to the tests from about 35 organisations.

"We feel this is a continuation of our work in picketing the atom-bomb bases here in East Anglia," Mrs. Lee Chadwick, the acting secretary of the Federation, told Peace News.

Two requests for an audience with the Queen have been refused by the Home Office. The requests were sent with the first and second batches of 1,000 signatures to a petition collected by women in Loughton (Essex). Today, Friday, the petition organisers are to meet their MP at the home of a Loughton woman doctor, Dr. R. Hunter.

Many women were wearing black scarves in a long, single-file, march through Bristol, last Saturday, reports Margaret Brooks. At a meeting afterwards Mr. Alan Hulme, FRCS, appealed for posters to be even more definite: "The Pope bans the tests; 2,000 American scientists . . . The Free Church Council. . . What about you?"

A local committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests was formed on the London County Council estate at South Oxhey (Watford) on June 19. Initiated by five residents, the meeting was attended by 60 people. Mrs. Renee Short, leader of "the women in black" was the speaker.

A Wimbledon (London) committee is sending messages to foreign embassies in Britain as well as to the Government condemning the use of atomic weapons.

Deptford Labour Party have sent a resolution to the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, demanding that the British Government take the initiative in securing the cessation of nuclear tests. "The frightful destructive powers of the military machine, epitomised by the hydrogen bomb, pose the alternatives of Socialism or mass destruction leading to a relapse into barbarism," says part of the resolution.

Common humanity

Brighton Peace Pledge Union Group cooperated with the local groups of the United Nations Association and the Society of Friends in showing the new film, "Shadow of Hiroshima" on June 18. A gathering of 250 people passed a resolution calling on the Governments of the UK, USA and USSR "in the name of common humanity" to cease the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons. There was also a strong call for a Town's Meeting to be called by the Mayors of Brighton and Hove further to consider the issues raised by the development of nuclear weapons.

The Women's League of the Congregational Church of England and Wales wrote to the Prime Minister imploring the Government to use every endeavour to get general agreement through the United Nations Sub-Committee for the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction.

They stated that in the opinion of many of the League, "it would have been better for the good name of the country if the tests already carried out had taken place nearer our own shores, so that any danger from a 'fall out' would have come upon ourselves rather than inflict possible suffering on people of other races."

Robert Trafford hands in a Fellowship Party anti-H-test petition at 10 Downing Street. Mr. Trafford is the Party's prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Peterborough.

Three scientists' report

A distinguished bio-chemist, Dr. Hugh Gordon, addressed the Reading and District Committee Against the H-bomb recently, at which 50 delegates representing 17 religious, social and political organisations together with many visitors were present.

He described the difference between the Hiroshima type bomb with its explosive force equivalent to 20,000 to 30,000 tons of TNT, and the hydrogen bomb with that of a million tons which threw up radio-active particles into the stratosphere.

He said that the Medical Research Council had been called upon by the Government to investigate the risks, but since then three scientists specially qualified to speak on the subject had issued a second report. These were Professor Penrose, the geneticist; Professor Haddow, well-known for cancer research work, and Professor Rotblatt, the atomic scientist. These three estimated that from the explosions already carried out up to 1956, the increase of radio-activity reaching human bones would, by 1970, amount to 9 per cent to 45 per cent of the natural background radiation.

At the meeting it was agreed that the Mayor of Reading be asked to convene a Town's Meeting, in order that Reading citizens might be informed about the effects of hydrogen bomb tests and might express their views thereon.

Yorkshire Peace Pledge Union are planning an anti-H-bomb campaign to be concentrated at half a dozen centres in Yorkshire. The campaign will be held in conjunction with a local screening of the Hiroshima film.

Men and women must act

In spite of sheep-shearing and haymaking, over 200 people attended a meeting in the Welsh town of Baia, organised by Quakers. Alderman Gwynfor Evans, speaking in Welsh and English said that Governments were spending vast sums for indiscriminate murder. They were making weapons that could destroy the human race.

It was futile to leave the decisions to make and use these weapons in the hands of harassed politicians. Men and women everywhere must act to prevent their Governments making these weapons or ever again going to war.

Earl Russell and the H-bomb

"I AM not prepared to sponsor a movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons," Earl Russell has told the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests in a letter to the Secretary.

"I have frequently explained my reasons for this which are:

"(a) That, while East-West tension remains what it is, neither side would believe that the other was observing an agreement for the abolition of nuclear weapons;

"(b) That mutual suspicion of a breach would make the tension even greater than it is at present;

"(c) That the fear of nuclear weapons being diminished, war would become more probable;

"(d) That, after war had begun, each side would manufacture nuclear weapons in spite of previous agreements to the contrary."

Earl Russell pointed out that he made his position clear in his broadcast in 1954 (reprinted by Friends Peace Committee, "Man's Peril from the Hydrogen Bomb," 1d).

He concluded his letter:

"I am wholeheartedly with the abolition of nuclear tests, because tests cannot be concealed."

RECORD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS

Compiled by Dr. Homer Jack

1945

July 16—USA — Alanogordo, New Mexico. First American test.
Aug. 6—USA—Hiroshima, Japan.
Aug. 9—USA—Nagasaki, Japan.

1946

July—USA—Bikini Atoll. Two tests.

1948

April—USA—Eniwetok. Three tests.

1949

Aug.—USSR—First Russian test.

1951

Jan. 27— USA—Nevada.
Jan. 28—USA—Nevada.
Feb. 1—USA—Nevada.
Feb. 2—USA—Nevada.
Feb. 6—USA—Nevada.
Apr.-May—USA — Eniwetok. Four tests.
Oct. 3—USSR.
Oct. 22—USSR.
Oct. 22—USA—Nevada.
Oct. 30—USA—Nevada.
Nov. 1—USA—Nevada.
Nov. 5—USA—Nevada.
Nov. 19—USA—Nevada.
Nov. 29—USA—Nevada.

1952

Apr. 1—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 15—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 22—USA—Nevada.
May 1—USA—Nevada.
May 7—USA—Nevada.
May 25—USA—Nevada.
June 1—USA—Nevada.
June 5—USA—Nevada.
Oct. 3—UK—Monte Bello Island, Australia. First British test.
Nov.—USA—Eniwetok. Two tests, including first American hydrogen bomb.

1953

Mar. 17—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 24—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 31—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 6—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 11—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 18—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 25—USA—Nevada.
May 8—USA—Nevada.
May 19—USA—Nevada.
May 25—USA—Nevada.
June 4—USA—Nevada.
Aug. 12—USSR. First Russian hydrogen bomb.
Aug. 23—USSR. "Part of a series."
Oct. 15—UK—Woomera, Australia.
Oct. 27—UK—Woomera, Aus.

1954

Mar.-May—USA — Eniwetok. Three tests.
Sept. 26—USSR. "Part of a series."

1955

Feb. 18—USA—Nevada.
Feb. 22—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 1—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 7—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 12—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 22—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 23—USA—Nevada.
Mar. 29—USA—Nevada. Two tests.
Apr. 6—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 9—USA—Nevada.
Apr. 15—USA—Nevada.
May 5—USA—Nevada.
May 15—USA—Nevada.
May—USA—Pacific Ocean.
Aug. 4—USSR.
Sept. 24—USSR. "Part of a series."
Nov. 10—USSR "Part of a series."
Nov. 23—USSR. "Largest thus far . . . in megaton range."

1956

Mar. 21—USSR.
Apr. 2—USSR. "Part of a series."
May 16—UK—Monte Bello Islands.
May-July—USA — Eniwetok. Three tests.
June 19—UK—Monte Bello Islands.
Aug. 24—USSR — Southwest Siberia? "Part of a series."
Aug. 30—USSR—Near Barents Sea? "Part of a series."
Sept. 2—USSR.
Sept. 10—USSR.
Sept. 27—UK—Maralinga, Australia.
Oct. 4—UK—Maralinga, Aus.
Oct. 11—UK—Maralinga, Aus.
Oct. 21 UK—Maralinga, Aus.
Nov. 17—USSR.

1957

Jan. 20—USSR. "Part of a series."
Mar. 8—USSR.
Apr. 3—USSR. "Part of a series."
Apr. 6—USSR.
Apr. 10—USSR. "Part of a series."
Apr. 12—USSR. "Part of a series."
Apr. 16—USSR.
May 15—UK—Christmas Island.
May 28—USA—Nevada.
May 31—UK—Christmas Island.
June 2—USA—Nevada.
June 5—USA—Nevada.
June 18—USA—Nevada.
June 19—UK—Christmas Island.
June 24—USA—Nevada.

SUMMARY OF EXPLOSIONS

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics	24 explosions*
United Kingdom	12 explosions
United States	70 explosions
	106 explosions

*The United States and the United Kingdom have presumably announced all tests; Soviet Russia has not and thus the above listing of Soviet explosions is necessarily fragmentary.

Letters to the Editor

Nuclear tests

From C. Rajagopalachari

MR. G. F. Hudson, Director, Far Eastern Studies, St. Anthony's College Oxford, who served seven years in the British Foreign Office and for long edited the Economist, writes in an American journal:

"The American people are too decent for Dulles and the British nation is not bad enough for Selwyn Lloyd. A series of episodes in recent history has shown that the foreign policies of democratic nations cannot in the long run be conducted along lines which are repugnant to the consciences of the great bulk of their citizens."

Is Mr. Hudson right?

And if so, would it apply to the test explosions which science affirms are injurious to the human race? Or is this domestic policy and not a foreign affairs issue?

In the long run, the conscience of the bulk of the citizens will triumph. How long is the run to be?—**C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, Madras, India.**

State and NVR

COMMANDER King-Hall's proposal is interesting, and symptomatic of the deep quandary into which the possession of the H-bomb has driven intelligent conventional thinkers.

But we must not therefore make the mistake of supporting his suggestion of a Royal Commission. The State is hardly the agency through which to investigate a technique of revolutionary resistance, even if in the first instance the intention is to use this technique against a foreign oppressor.

The State rests historically, structurally and ideologically upon the possession and ultimate sanction of force. When threatened it instinctively resorts to it or to allied methods. It is ludicrous to expect it to forge a revolutionary weapon which, someday, might be turned against itself either at home or abroad, in a colony or occupied territory.

The very idea of non-violent resistance runs counter to all the institutionalised prejudices and principles of its history and, indeed, counter to its very existence.

By all means let there be an independent study of non-violent resistance, as part of the struggle against war itself and not in the spirit of Commander King-Hall's proposal which is, after all, only to develop a new and effective weapon in the context of a warring world. If we have to resist an oppressor, indigenous or foreign, we must do so in the spirit of reconciliation (as Gandhi did) and not in the spirit of war-by-other-means.

Commander King-Hall's suggestion has much usefulness. It is evidence from an unexpected source in support of our case against the prevailing strategy of the State. But it will lead us nowhere—or rather, nowhere we ought to go—if we follow it with naive enthusiasm. It is, in short, not addressed to us and is not designed to serve our purposes—**OLIVER CALDECOTT, 19 Turney Rd., London, S.E.21.**

Federalism

I WAS very glad to see Mr. Usborne's article on World Government in Peace News, June 14. I am sure Federalism would guarantee peace.

The one objection that is brought against World Government is the possibility of civil war. But civil war is the result of bad Government, whereas international war (i.e. war between nations) is the result of there being more than one nation. We have not had a civil war for over 200 years, which proves that they can be prevented.—**M. D. GOTTLIEB, 18 Audley Rd., London, W.5.**

Unilateral disarmament

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS has little faith in King-Hall's proposed Royal Commission. He thinks the only serious question for us is how to frame a British policy to exert a pacifying influence on America and Russia. He makes no practical suggestion for the immediate future.

G. D. H. Cole is also sceptical about the value of a Royal Commission. He says all sane persons should seek a lessening of international tension, agreed disarmament and renunciation of force as an instrument of policy and he proposes a crusade with a long list of aims, attainment of which, if possible at all, must be very remote.

Stephen King-Hall has at least started some long overdue sane thought and discussion about national policy. Clearly it is desirable that this should continue and grow, even if the Royal Commission is not forthcoming.

None of these proposals offer us any short term relief, however, and the adoption of non-violent resistance as national policy would be a tremendous and possibly a very risky step for any government to take.

Furthermore any abandoning by us of military armament must be gradual, if only to avoid serious dislocation of industry.

In fact what we need is a really large, though not complete, gesture of unilateral disarmament spread over the next three or five years and coupled with an invitation to all other countries to follow suit. It is not an essential, though it would be a desirable, feature of such a scheme that the money saved should be used to improve standards of living in the less developed countries.

At the end of the stipulated period the position could be reviewed and, if necessary, our policy revised, in the light of the response to our appeal to other countries and perhaps also of the report of Stephen King-Hall's Royal Commission.—**G. D. GILLIES, 56 Mayfield Rd., Sanderstead, Surrey.**

Cheaper method

IT seems to me shadow boxing of the most whimsical kind to advocate, as Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall does, the military abandonment of further H-tests and the spending of £100,000,000 "on preaching the moral of this high-minded act to the people of Iron Curtain countries."

If there is one dominant feature of policy in the Soviet Union it is precisely their desire to come to an agreement with the West on the abandonment of further tests.

The thing to do is to find out if Khrushchov is kidding. And if he isn't take up his proposition—in public.

Far cheaper and quicker method, I'd say, than King-Hall's £100,000,000 sermon.—**WALLY GILL, 22 The Crescent, Breaston, Derbyshire.**

Gandhi's letter

THE direct encouragement given by Leo Tolstoy to Mahatma Gandhi in the closing years of the great Russian's life is of great interest and importance to our movement and indeed to world history in general; and, therefore, we should warmly welcome the publication by Peace News of the recently discovered letter from Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated 1909, that is about a year before Tolstoy's pitiful flight from home and his death.

It ought to be more widely known that in his first non-violent campaigns and his "Tolstoy Farm" community Gandhi regarded himself as a disciple of Tolstoy and sent some account of them to him; and that in reply Tolstoy wrote, in 1903, a long and most interesting letter.

Included is the truly prophetic sentence: "Therefore your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part." (See page 104 of "Mahatma Gandhi, Essays and Reflections on his Life and Work," presented to him on his 70th birthday, October 2, 1939, a volume I had the privilege to edit in co-operation with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, now Vice-President of the Indian Parliament. The full text of this letter is given in Charles Andrews' "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," 1929-30.)

Readers of Peace News will note that in his 1909 letter Gandhi almost echoed Tolstoy's 1903 words of admiration when he wrote: "In my opinion this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is of the greatest of modern times, in as much as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal."

In his 1909 letter, Gandhi refers to Mr. Doke's book and about the South African "struggle" and his own part in it. The author was an English Free Church (Baptist) minister, who showed great personal kindness to Gandhi and sympathy with his ideas, which were all but unknown outside South Africa in 1909.

In 1928, this little book, Gandhi's present to Tolstoy, was to be seen in Tolstoy's study on the shelf of books which were said to be kept there "for his daily use," during the last months of Tolstoy's life.

Probably it is still there today, as I believe that Yasnaya Polyana and its contents are carefully preserved as a national museum by the Soviet authorities.—**STEPHEN HOBHOUSE, Broxbourne, Herts.**

Education for Africans

MANY readers of "Peace News" and other friends have shown great interest in the work a few are doing in Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia to assist Africans to obtain secondary education.

The Southern Rhodesia Government provides free primary education for Africans in both day and evening schools, but no secondary evening education and although all education is free for the European child, the African is charged fees in the secondary day school—this is one of the many injustices under which the African labours.

After much struggle I was able to open an evening secondary school in Bulawayo—the only one in the Federation of Central Africa—about twenty-five teachers—mostly European—devote one evening a week to the work which they find most inspiring because of the longing of the African for education.

Although no fees are charged the very poorly paid African finds it almost impossible to buy books and it has been suggested to me that an appeal through Peace News may be helpful, as many readers probably have books they would be willing to pass on.

Text books and books for the library will be most acceptable—the students work for the Junior Certificate and Matriculation Examination taking English, English Literature, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Physiology and Hygiene as the main subjects.

Mr. Leonard Tomkinson, 144 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10, has kindly offered to use his home as a collecting and despatch depot for books—he will of course also need funds for postage and advertising.

Several groups of the Women' International League for Peace and Freedom are providing the fees (£12-£15 a year) for a student to attend a secondary Day School—the student helped in this way is expected when working, to return the money for another student to benefit.

If any readers feel financially able to help this scheme they can be assured that they will be doing something most valuable.

Thanking you and your readers in anticipation.—**(Mrs.) G. G. COLEMAN, 62 Carlyon Ave., S. Harrow.**

Prize winner

THE Prize in the US Essay Competition on the "Abolition of War" is one month in Great Britain and has been won by a 16 year old girl, Kathryn Sidwell, of the Friends Boarding School, Barnesville, Ohio. Her father is a farmer and she is one of six children.

Imagine their joy at her success!

She will arrive at Southampton on SS Zuiderkruis on Sunday, July 14 and depart by SS Arosa Sun on Thursday, Aug. 29. Offers of hospitality, sight-seeing, guidance or any sponsoring anywhere for days, weekends or weeks will be welcome—early please—so that a suitable itinerary pilgrimage can be made for her.

Other peace pilgrims may follow next year. Why not a two way project for Colleges and High-schools in all countries?

There lies one hope—of peace through fellowship.—**CHARLES MARLAND, c/o Chris Lea Marland, Kettleby, RRI, Ontario, Canada.**

Peace parade

I AM sorry to have to disagree with my very good friend Jon Wynne-Tyson. What is wrong with wind instruments that they should be for ever tied to the military? Why, in fact, should the military always have all the glamour and all the fun?

When the day comes that the sound of the pipes and the call of the bugle, are instantly recognised as a call to peace, we shall have beaten the military at their own game!

As for speaking up, nothing could prevent me from doing so on any and every occasion, but if Jon Wynne-Tyson is under the impression that I, or even Donald Soper, could possibly address 5,000 people, let alone 10,000 on Tower Hill, he over estimates, not only our abilities as speakers, but the space on Tower Hill!

Many more than 10,000 saw the march on Saturday; over 5,000 received our leaflets; in other words we piped up and we were heard, not by hundreds, as on Tower Hill, but by thousands.

May I recommend, with my usual modesty, that Jon Wynne-Tyson reads my article "On the March"!—**SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.**

More letters on the King-Hall proposal will appear next week

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REFLECTIONS ON DEFENCE

Reprints of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" are still obtainable at 15s. per 100, or 2s. a doz., from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, July 5; Saturday, July 6

ALFRETON, DERBYS: Market place stall to collect signatures to anti-H-test petition. National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Saturday, July 6

LONDON, N.6: 4-7 p.m.; Mennonite Centre, 14 Shepherds Hill, Highgate. "Christianity and the Race Question," Dr. Guy Hershberger, Goshen College, USA. Fellowship Tea, 4 to 6 p.m.

ROCHESTER: 3 p.m. at West Winds, Blue Bell Hill. Edith Adlam—"A Visit to Tashkent." FoR.

Tuesday, July 9

LONDON, W.C.2: 8 p.m.; Holborn Hall (Small). Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Councillor John Lawrence, Leader St. Pancras Borough Council. Holborn and St. Pancras Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Wednesday, July 10

HORNSEY: 8 p.m.; Corbin Hall, Park Chapel, Crouch End, London, N.8. Film show, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Richie Calder. Chairman: Paul Rose. Hornsey CANWT.

LONDON, S.W.4: 8 p.m.; Clapham Labour Party Headquarters, 27 Clapham Park Road, S.W.4 (5 mins from Clapham Common Tube Station). Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News. Clapham & Dist. PPU.

Thursday, July 11

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. PPU Group Meeting, including discussion on Peace News Building Fund and sales.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Alan Sim, "Education, Amusement and Mathematics." PPU and FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, WIL Lunch Meeting. Vera Brittain, "America since McCarthy." Chairman: Sybil Morrison.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Geoffrey Worthington, "My Visit to Russia." PYAG.

Saturday, July 13

ALTON: 3 p.m.; "Hill crest," Windmill Hill. Southern Area PPU Committee Meeting.

Sunday, July 14

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Ronald Lightowler, "Towards Universal Brotherhood."

Thursday, July 18

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Mr. D. Brotmacher, "Israel Today." PPU and FoR.

Thursday, July 25

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Group Discussion. PPU and FoR.

Saturday, July 27

LONDON, S.W.19: 2-6.30 p.m.; Garden Party at Lincoln House, 51 Parkside, Wimbledon Common. Opened 3 p.m. by H.E. The High Commissioner for India, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. "Racial Unity."

Thursday, August 1

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Discussion, "Unilateral Disarmament." PPU and FoR.

August 10-17

BANGOR, NORTH WALES: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship Summer Conference. Speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Ernest Best, Rev. Mark Shirley, etc. PPU members in North Wales welcomed to stay or to any sessions.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: The Shipley Group will resume their weekly meetings in the Labour Party rooms, Westgate Shipley, on September 2, at 7.30 p.m.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

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TO UNDERSTAND CONFLICTS WHICH LEAD TO WAR

A journey of discovery

HILDA VON KLENZE reviews

Unterwegs notiert—Bericht einer Weltreise (Notes made en route—Report of a World Tour). By Hans A. de Boer, J. G. Oncken, Kassel, DM12.80.

WHEN Hans de Boer, Chairman of the German Section of the WRI, was sent to Africa by his Hamburg firm and there encountered the problems of race and colour he threw up his job to travel round the world and discover for himself the truth about the conflicts and tensions which make for war and violence.

He was never content to hear only one side of a story.

In Kenya he walked unarmed into Mau-Mau territory and had a long conversation with one of "General Russia's" deputies. In India, appalled at the poverty of the homeless of Madras who sleep and die of hunger in the streets, he tried to live like one of them, walking from village to village in quest of work and food.

He collapsed after a fortnight and abandoned the experiment on the advice of an Indian doctor who nursed him back to health.

The secretary of a local YMCA group in Japan told him "When the average Japanese thinks of Christianity he immediately equates it with America and military power, the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and the hydrogen bomb test which brought disease and death to a crew of fishermen. Do you expect the simple Japanese to be able to differentiate between the religion of the West and the military might of the West?"

Hans de Boer is a convinced Christian pacifist and clearly recognises where the Christian Churches have failed to respond as Christians should to such problems as poverty, race discrimination and colonialism.

Dr. Martin Niemöller writes in his introduction to the book, "Especially we Christians are brought inescapably face to face with our responsibility and are made to ask ourselves whether our 'Christianity' is more than 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbals'. We would do well not to evade that challenge; and thanks to the author for making any evasion so salutarily difficult."

INDIAN HISTORY

Geoffrey Carnall reviews

The Discovery of India, by Jawaharlal Nehru. Paper bound. Meridian Books, 6s.

"THE Discovery of India" is an account of Indian history—social, political, and philosophical—from the earliest times to the twentieth century. It was written when Mr. Nehru was in prison during the last war, and published in 1946.

It now appears in a paper-back edition which, considering the length of the book, is remarkably cheap. It should be read by anyone who wants to understand the forces at work in Asia at the present time.

The Nehru who appears here is different from the respected mediator (or hypocritical busybody, as some assert) whom we now take for granted. It is easy to see how the author of "The Discovery of India" was capable of becoming what he has become. But this book recalls the man who was mainly interested in ending foreign rule in his country, and by no means convinced that it would happen soon.

It is a world that seems very remote now, but it seems more remote in Britain than it does in India. It is important to realise that it is the world which formed the present generation of Indian leaders.

Thus, anyone who has read "The Discovery of India" should be able to understand why Indians applied a "double standard" to the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt and the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution. (I happen to think that Nehru's line in November 1956 was justifiable as being well calculated to stop war, but that is a different point.)

The Russians were merely a foreign power; they had never ruled India. But the British were reverting to a painfully familiar type. In the early nineteen-fifties it did look as though the British ruling class had acquiesced in the ending of their domination of Asia, had perhaps even had a change of heart. In 1956, however, the pretence was dropped. There had been no change of heart.

There was apparently every justification for the old antagonism of Britain and India to emerge again. Fortunately, the behaviour of the Labour Party prevented any fear that it might be reverting to type also—the type described on page 291 of the present edition: staunch supporters of the status quo, sternly repressing all stirrings of conscience about the contradiction between their domestic and foreign policies.

To read this book, in fact, is to see history in a perspective unfamiliar to most English people. It would be a very useful experience for them, and one hopes that this new edition will enable more of them to have it.

African village

SCOTT BAYLISS reviews

"Katakala", by Michael Kittermaster. Constable, 20s.

KATAKALA is the fictitious name of what must be a real village on one of the great lakes in the rift valleys of East Africa, and the book is a collection of anecdotes about the district and its inhabitants—African, Indian, and European—some amusing, but all with an undertone of

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tragedy, the tragedy of conflicting races, or rather of conflicting cultures.

With the wealth of material the author has used, he could have written a serious sociological study or a volume of amusing and revealing personal reminiscences in the style of Arthur Grimble's "Pattern of Islands" or of Bengt Danielsson's "Happy Island". What he has written falls rather between two stools.

By remaining out of the picture himself, he has made it impersonal somehow and lacking in warmth, yet he has not attempted a scientific survey. But some of his character sketches are clear and vivid, and I look forward to the novel on the same subject promised for this summer, in the hope that this genre may better suit Mr. Kittermaster's talent.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER AND THE CHURCH

By J. Martin Hall

So sure, so straight, so like a blade
of wheat
That crowns its striving stem with
head of gold,
This life of Schweitzer we have seen
unfold
The simple, uncomplex, purposive,
complete;
The feeling heart of child, and then
each feat
Of musician, thinker, theologian, to
the bold
And lion-hearted doctor, until when
old
He speaks of peace, above life's
press and heat.

And when I hear him urge that we
should cease
From these deep devilries with
which, with argument
And blood-stained hands, we work
for nuclear peace,
I seem to see you, O Church of
God, content,
Your life divided, wavering, weak
and torn,
And him a blade, a shining blade of
corn!

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S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC., Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., London, W.C.1. Sunday, 11 a.m., July 7: H. J. Blackman, BA, "The Dilemma of Defence." Adm. free. Free copy "Monthly Record" on request.

WORLD GOVERNMENT—The Way to Permanent Peace. Public Meeting, Great Hall (Caxton Hall), S.W.1. Wed., July 10, 1957, at 6.30 for 7 p.m. Speakers: M. Robert Muron, MP (France); Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, QC, MP; The Rt. Hon. Lord Silkin; Rt. Hon. Lord Boyd Orr, FRS; Mr. I. J. Pitman, MP; Mr. Gilbert McAllister. Reserved seats, 2s. 6d., from Parliamentary Association for World Government, 2 Manchester Sq., London, W.1.

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□ FROM PAGE ONE

"UNARMED"

In the case of colonial territories, wider issues would be raised. Britain would make it clear that she desired to bequeath democratic self-government, not "self-government" on the model of Southern Rhodesia. British disarmament would not mean leaving Kenya's five-and-a-half million Africans in the hands of the 30,000 Europeans in that land.

With disarmament must be associated a plan for bringing ordered self-government to the peoples of colonial areas, and the British Government should give dates by which it would be ready to go. These would be worked out in consultation with representative leaders and constituent assemblies. Lack of education would not be regarded as a reason for the protracted denial of self-government.

"Given the will, enormous strides can be made in the education of a whole people in relatively short periods."

There would be a fair deal for settlers, whose co-operation would be sought and welcomed when forthcoming. Some of the money made available by disarmament would be used to buy the rights of settlers—the problem would be no greater than, say, the nationalisation of the mines at home—and, while the form of land holding must ultimately be decided by the native populations, care would be taken in the meanwhile to limit the size of holdings and thus ensure a fair distribution of the land. The co-operative principle, both of land-holding and marketing, would be encouraged.

International obligations

Disarmament would obviously affect many of Britain's international relations, notably her membership of the United Nations. Members of UN are supposed to be armed but the requirement is not absolute: Japan, for example, is a member though she is required by her constitution to be an unarmed nation.

A disarmed Britain would clearly wish to work with UN where it is concerned with the pacific settlement of disputes or the organisation of efforts towards world development and international co-operation. It would be for the Assembly to decide whether an unarmed nation could continue as a Permanent Member of the Security Council.

"Unarmed" points out that apart from obligations as a signatory to the United Nations Charter, most of Britain's commitments involving military undertakings have been superseded by its engagements under the North Atlantic Treaty, the South-East Asian Treaty and the Bagdad Pact.

These treaties provide for termination or review, and Britain would doubtless take advantage of the appropriate clauses as well as clarifying her position in the United Nations.

In any case, the military ideas behind NATO and the other pacts have been outdated by the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the character of warfare. And it is on this point that "Unarmed" begins and ends.

Victory impossible

While to the pacifist it is war itself that should be renounced (says the Introduction), the H-bomb has introduced two new political considerations: it has taken out of war the possibility of victory; and it has outmoded any system of inspection and control of armaments, even if one could be attained.

"Armaments cannot provide defence for this country against atomic attack," says the concluding section on defence. "Indeed, the possession of armaments by Britain and the existence of bases from which nuclear attacks can be mounted against any other country are themselves an incentive to others to attack. An unarmed Britain would not threaten the security of other countries and would be that much less liable to attack."

Obviously, non-violent resistance could not prevent an invasion though it could create the conditions within which an invading force would be rendered ineffective. But non-violent defence action would only become possible in the changed circumstances created by unilateral disarmament, and detailed schemes for the creation of a non-violent defence force could not and should not be devised now.

In the meantime:

"We would urge the acceptance of the principle of unilateral disarmament not through fear of the consequences of war, or through inability to carry the burden of armaments, not even because we believe it would work, but because 'to do the right thing is the right thing to do'."

THE 1957 DISARMAMENT PLANS

Summary for period from March 18 to June 30, 1957
Specially prepared for Peace News by Dr. Homer Jack

	USA *	USSR
1. **Nuclear weapon tests.**	Temporary ban, if 2, 3, 4, 5.	Two- to three-year temporary ban, with 2, 3.
2. **Test inspection.**	Inspection posts inside areas of previous tests.	Inspection posts inside areas of previous tests.
3. **Inspection supervision.**	International agency.	International agency.
4. **Nuclear weapon production.**	Agreement now to halt new production at specific future date.	Perhaps a halt, if 6.
5. **Production inspection.**	Undefined.	?
6. **Use of nuclear weapons.**	Formula governing use.	Unconditional ban now.
7. **Reduction of army manpower.**	Three stages— 1: 2,500,000 for US and USSR; 750,000 UK and France. 2: 2,100,000/700,000. 3: 1,700,000/650,000.	Two stages, with second being 1.5 million for US and USSR and 650,000 for UK and France.
8. **Reduction of conventional armaments.**	Absolute reduction to be surrendered to UN stockpile and later destroyed.	15 per cent. reduction.
9. **Aerial inspection.**	Two stages — 1: limited; 2: unlimited.	Probably limited.
10. **Ground Inspection.**	System to prevent buildup for surprise attack.	Some agreement.
11. **Conversion of existing nuclear bomb stockpiles to peaceful uses.**	System of transfer to UN stockpile.	?
12. **Political conditions.**	Progress if not agreements toward 1: unification of Germany; 2: unification of Korea; 3: lessening of Middle East tensions; 4: disengagement of Russian satellites.	None, except ultimate abandonment of NATO
13. **Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles.**	No prohibition of research or testing of vehicle.	No prohibition of research or testing of vehicle.

* *Britain, France and Canada are pretty much following America's lead in these negotiations.*

By Sybil Morrison

TO THE GLORY OF WAR

A humble posy of violets from a widow whose only son was killed on the Dunkirk beaches had pride of place today next to the wreath of 200 red roses from Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, in the cloisters of the newly unveiled Dunkirk memorial. Her intensely moving address was dedicated to "Those brave men who died in the hour of seeming defeat in order that in the fullness of time it should be turned to victory. —Daily Telegraph, July 1, 1957.

Paid are its dim defenders by this pomp;
Paid, with a pile of peace-complacent stone.
—Seigfried Sassoon.

THE story of Dunkirk is one that will always succeed in stirring the hearts of British people; not because of the battle in France and Belgium, nor because of the retreat before Hitler's armies, nor even the generalship which rescued from complete decimation, part of the British Expeditionary Force in 1940, but because of "the little ships."

When it was known that thousands of British men were trapped between the German tanks and the impregnable sea, exposed and helpless before the raking fire of an implacable enemy, there was no discussion, no argument, no waiting for orders; the little ships set out.

From tiny rowing boats to yachtsmen's floating palaces, unarmed, unprotected, unafraid, they ventured willingly; it is indeed an epic tale.

No one will, no one could deny, that war has many tales of courage and selflessness, of heroism and fortitude, but on every occasion when the anniversaries of battles are remembered, or the memorials to the dead are unveiled, they are always dedicated not only to those who have died, but to the glory of war.

Those 4,700 men, who suffered death and defeat upon the beaches of Dunkirk, are remembered 17 years afterwards by the erection of columns of "peace-complacent stone" on which are engraved their names; their widows and mothers, sisters, brothers and sweethearts are soothed and comforted, uplifted, and even inspired, by words which are designed to glorify war, and cover up the truth.

The Queen Mother's words as she unveiled the Dunkirk memorial to the dead, did not touch upon the real facts; it did not draw a picture of the Dunkirk beaches on that blazing June day 17 years ago; it did not tell of the din and agony on those hot sands as the German bombers dived to their horrible massacre. No word was said of the disembowelled, dismembered human beings, of the wounded and dying with no water to drink, no casualty stations, no hospital wards; of the degradation, disintegration and death.

But this is the real story of Dunkirk, and all the grandest words and the most wonderful wreaths of roses, the loveliest architecture and most beautiful gardens cannot make it other than what it was: the slaughter of the innocents.

The desire to stand beside a grave, to have some tangible memorial, to bring some little bunch of flowers, to salute the sound of the Last Post are understandable human needs; whatever the belief that many hold of a future life, it is here and now that people want those they love. The irrevocably closed door of death drives them to stones, and to wreaths, for comfort.

It would seem a cruel thing to attempt to deprive the bereaved of even the smallest grain of consolation, and yet it would be for the benefit of all mankind if the truth were faced.

Freedom from tyranny was not won on the beaches of Dunkirk; victory for peace was not achieved. The world is faced instead with a tyranny which is even more established and impregnable than the totalitarianism of Fascism and the authoritarianism of Communism—the tyranny of war.

Despite the sacrifices, despite the so-called victories, mankind is today dominated by fear of a war which will lay waste the world and all living things. This is what two world wars have achieved.

The best memorial to those whose lives have been squandered in the name of freedom and peace, would be, not monuments and shrines, but the abolition of war, for this would mean something which no war can ever achieve—the establishment of peace.

Disarmament talks

* FROM PAGE ONE

weapons—without at the same time the beginnings of the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons which to her is the essence of disarmament. Thus at the moment, and positions change rapidly, it appears that both Britain and France are dragging their heels in these negotiations.

In the end it is likely that both Britain and France—and Canada—will follow America's lead, but perhaps for a price. Britain wants to receive nuclear weapons, not just nuclear secrets, from America, and it is said that both countries want American support for their existing policies in Africa as the price of their support of the American position in the Disarmament Subcommittee.

British public opinion has moved far in the past six months, despite the talk of hydrogen bombs being a deterrent to war and thus Britain's first line of defence. There is much expressed sentiment in Britain, certainly more than in America at present, against any further nuclear weapon tests by any nation. The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests is a broadly based group and has done outstanding work.

The subcommittee must make a report to the full 12-power Disarmament Committee early in August. This can just be an interim report. The subcommittee can continue meeting. While the Russians have called for a meeting of the foreign ministers, it is not considered likely that this will be done unless political agreements must be considered as a part of the first-step package. In any case, a report of the full Disarmament Committee will have to be made to the UN General Assembly sometime in the autumn. Chances appear good that, by then, a first-stage package will be almost negotiated. This might have a time limit of between one and three years and public opinion must then make any temporary agreement permanent as well as insist that the powers work on the second-stage.

The big issue now being negotiated is not whether to stop nuclear tests but the actual contents of the first-step change. Will it contain a ban on tests with an international agency for control—as Russia suggested on June 14, or will it be much larger? Russia's sticking point probably is the inclusion of some moral prohibition on the use of nuclear bombs. The West is insisting on an inspected prohibition of future production of nuclear weapons.

The negotiations will succeed or breakdown on these and related issues. Otherwise, the Five Powers are closer together on disarmament than at any time in this nuclear age.

International cooperation of private groups in all countries is imperative if these disarmament negotiations are to succeed and, in the end, become endorsed by the individual governments. An international clearing house for current information and action on the whole disarmament problem is badly needed, since none exists.

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Reg'd as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at P.O. Boston, USA. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., N.4.